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MORAVIAN DIARIES OF TRAVELS THROUGH VIRGINIA.

Edited by Rev. WILLIAM J. HINKE and CHARLES E. KEMPER.

(CONTINUED)

DIARY OF THE JOURNEY OF THE FIRST COLONY OF SINGLE BRETHREN TO NORTH CAROLINA, OCTOBER 8—NOVEMBER 17, 1753.¹

After having been commissioned by the congregation in the evening, and having been blessed by our dear brethren, and finally having partaken of the cup of thanksgiving, we prepared, on October 8, 1753, for our departure. Our dear Christian Seidel conducted the morning worship. The brethren who departed from Bethlehem were: Grube, Jacob Loesch, Petersen, Lunge, Herman Loesch, Feldhausen, Erich Ingepretzen, Merkli, Pfeil, Beroth, Lischer, Kalberland and Joseph Haberland, the last intending to accompany us to the Susquehanna. Our dear Gottlob Hoffmann, Eberhard and several others accompanied us for several miles. Having taken an affectionate farewell of them, we went our way happy and rejoicing in the grace of our dear Saviour. Our dear Gottlob [Koenigsderfer] and Nathanael [Seidel] followed us a few hours later.² In the eve-

¹ The editors are under special obligation to the Rev. J. H. Clewell, Ph.D., the courteous archivist of the Moravian congregation at Salem, N. C., who most kindly placed the original diary at their disposal. The original German MS covers 48 closely written, small quarto pages. The translation is but a slight abridgment of the original, only unimportant sentences being omitted. The conclusion of the diary, extending from November 18-21, 1753, was also omitted.

² The following is the list of Moravian brethren who located in Wachovia and founded the village of Bethabara, together with brief notes on each person. It is taken from the *History of Wachovia in North Carolina*, by John Henry Clewell, pp. 13 and 14:

(1). Rev. Bernhard Adam Grube, born in Germany, age 37 years, the first minister.

(2). Jacob Loesch, born in New York, age 31 years, the warden.

ning we came to the *Missellim* [Moselem, Berks Co.] mill and stayed there over night. The people were rather friendly and more ready to serve us than at other times, when they were unwilling to keep the brethren over night. On the way we took along several articles of our baggage, which had to be taken from our wagon, because it was stalled and could not be moved.

On October 9, we rose very early and continued our journey. Bro. Grube and Kalberland preceded us. A man met them who asked whether any one of us knew how to let blood, a poor servant being sick at *Uly Hui's*, who had heard of us and urgently requested us to come to him. We went to him, and Bro. Kalberland bled him, for which he was very thankful. At noon we came to Bro. *Jacob Mueller's*.³ He was not at home. His boy took us over the "Tulpehokke" [creek] in a canoe. It almost capsized, but our angels held it fast. We soon came to the Heidelberg school house and found our friends, the *Muellers*, well. They were glad to see and to entertain us once more. There were also several brethren present, who worked at the new meeting house. They were glad to greet us again. Towards evening we came to our dear friends, *Loesch*,⁴ by whom

(3). Dr. Hans Martin Kalberlahn, born in Norway, age 31 years, the physician.

(4). Hans Peterson, born in Danish Holstein, age 28 years, a tailor.

(5). Christopher Merkly, born in Germany, age 39 years, a baker.

(6). Herman Loesch, born in Pennsylvania, age 27 years, a farmer.

(7). Erich Ingebretsen, born in Norway, age 31 years, a carpenter.

(8). Henrich Feldhausen, born in Holstein, age 38 years, a carpenter.

(9). Johannes Lisher, a farmer.

(10). Jacob Lung, born in Germany, age 40 years, a gardener.

(11). Friederich Jacob Pfeil, born in Germany, age 42 years, a shoemaker and tanner.

(12). Jacob Beroth, born in Germany, age 28 years, a farmer.

With these twelve, came the brethren Gottlob Koenigsderfer, also a minister, Nathanael Seidel ordained bishop in 1758, and Joseph Haberland. After a brief visit these three returned to Pennsylvania.

³ Jacob Mueller was a member of the Moravian congregation in North Heidelberg Township, Berks Co., Pa. He lived one mile north of the Heidelberg schoolhouse, close to the Tulpehocken creek. Taken from *Alphabetical Register of Moravians*, a MS. in the Bethlehem archives.

⁴ George Loesch was a member of the Moravian congregation at the Quittopahilla. He lived at Tulpehocken, eight miles northwest of the Hebron church. See *Alphabetical Register* in Bethlehem archives.

we were heartily welcomed. We also found our Bro. Christian Rauch there, who had arrived shortly before. Our dear brethren, Merk and Ziegler, who had brought our wagon thus far, told us their experiences on the way. They said that it had taken them four days to come to "Tulpehokin", and that they had endured many things, because it had rained much and the road had been very muddy.

On October 10, our dear Gottlob conducted the morning worship. Afterwards, we held a little conference about our wagon, which is too wide, extending several inches beyond the track. We unloaded the wagon and took it to a blacksmith shop. Our baggage, which was pretty wet, we dried in the sun. Mother Loesch supplied us with the necessary provisions for the journey. Bro. *Christian Rauch*⁵ bade us a hearty farewell and went back home across the "Quittopohille" [creek]. Bro. Beroth went to see his father once more, across the Susquehanna where he will join us again. Bro. Nathanael wrote a letter to Bro. Bader, who is now at York on the Catores [Codorus], to let him know of our journey to Carolina. In the evening, when our wagon had been fixed, having been made three inches narrower, we packed all our belongings, to leave early next morning.

On October 11, we rose early and prepared for our departure. We sent several letters to Bethlehem with the brethren from "Tonigal" [Donegal, Lancaster Co.] Our dear father Loesch gave us his wagon to accompany us across the Susquehanna. Mother Loesch provided us plentifully with bread and meat. Then we took our leave of our dear friends, and thanked them heartily for all their pains and care, undergone for our sake. They both cried like children. They were especially touched because they would not see their two sons (Jacob and Herman) for some time. At noon we came to our schoolhouse in "Quittopohille" and took our dinner there. Our dear friends, *Neusers* and *Engels* welcomed us very heartily and we rejoiced with them. Bro. *Peter Kucher*⁶ fed our horses. He was very glad

⁵ Christian Henry Rauch was, in 1753, pastor of the Moravian congregation in Warwick township, now Lititz, Lancaster Co.

⁶ Peter Kucher, the most prominent member of the Moravian congre-

to see us once more. Several of the brethren visited *John Tanneberger*, who considered it a favor to have the brethren with him. We continued our journey, Bro. Neuser and Engel accompanying us to *Xander's*,¹ where we arrived in the evening. As we passed over the bridge of the mill race it collapsed and it was certainly a miracle that our horses and wagon did not fall into the mill race. We thanked our dear Father for his protection. Bro. Xander was not at home, but his wife and daughter entertained us well. Bro. Neuser and Engel went home again to-night.

On October 12, we rose at four o'clock and after the morning worship we breakfasted at five. At six o'clock we left. Several young men, who love the brethren, went with us part of the way and we were very happy and cheerful. After we had traveled eight miles a dead tree happened to fall on our horses, which caused considerable commotion, but it fell so neatly between the horses on the wagon tongue, that neither the brother, who rode on the horses, nor any of the horses were injured, only a piece of a collar was knocked off. This was certainly a very gracious preservation by our dear Father. To-day we shot several pheasants, quails and squirrels. In the evening we pitched the first camp in the woods, close to a creek, one mile this side of the Susquehanna. Everybody was busy in gathering wood and making fire. Bro. Erich took the cooking upon himself, and after we had eaten we spread our blankets and lay down upon them. We considered the question whether we should take father Loesch's wagon with us, because it seems that our heavy wagon cannot get along alone. But as we had not spoken about this to father Loesch, we could not conclude to do so. We appointed our night guards. Bro. Nathanael had the first two hours, he was relieved by Bro. Grube, and the

gation at the Quittopahilla, settled in 1732, one mile east of the later town of Lebanon. When the Moravian movement began in Lebanon township, he became one of its main supporters. A schoolhouse was erected on his land in 1748. A church, called Hebron church, was built in 1750. See *Register of Moravians*, p. 125.

¹ Henry Xander, a member of the Quittopahilla congregation, lived six miles west of the Hebron church. He was a miller by trade. See *Alphabetical Register* in Bethlehem archives.

latter by Bro. Loesch. Thus three or four brethren will always be on guard at night. At midnight a drunken Irishman came to us and lay down at our fire, but he did not disturb our rest. Bro. Gottlob had hung his hammock between two trees and rested in it very well.

On October 13, after eating some soup, we continued our journey. Bro. Grube and Loesch preceded us to the Susquehanna to Harrison's Ferry [Harrisburg]⁸ to find out how we could cross. Bro. Grube found an opportunity to send a letter with a trader to "Shomoko" [Shamokin]. The Susquehanna is very shallow,⁹ so that no ferry can cross. We resolved therefore to ford it. The brethren all mounted the wagon and the horses and thus we all passed over safely. The Susquehanna is one mile wide here. Bro. Beroth with his father joined us again. He brought a letter from Bro. Bader, who very much regretted his inability to come and by this letter bade us farewell. Two miles this side of [beyond]¹⁰ the Susquehanna we packed everything in our wagon that had been in Bro. Loesch's wagon, which was then sent back. The time had now come for Bro. Gottlob to bid us farewell. But he, like Bro. Haberland, concluded to go with us to North Carolina. We were all delighted with the prospect of so long enjoying the presence of our dear brother. Bro. Gottlob and Nathanael wrote several letters to Bethlehem and gave them to Bro. Merk to deliver. Thus there returned with the wagon Bro. Merk, the little Joseph Mueller and G. Loesch. The latter wept very much when he took leave of his two brothers. Beroth's father, to whom it was a great pleasure to see the first caravan to Carolina, also bade us a hearty farewell and went back home. The distance from this point to York

⁸ The site of Harrisburg was settled by John Harris about 1726. Known as Harris's Ferry at least as early as 1753. Laid out as the town of Louisbourg in 1785, incorporated as the borough of Harrisburg in 1791, became state capital in 1812.

⁹ The fall of the year 1753 must have been an exceptionally dry season. This is indicated by the extreme shallowness of the Susquehanna and other rivers crossed by the Moravian pioneers.

¹⁰ The writer always uses the phrase "this side of" from his own point of view at the time being. In most instances, as in the present case, it would be more correct to use "beyond."

on the "Catores" is estimated at thirty miles. It was getting somewhat difficult for our horses and the brethren had to help by pushing the wagon. Otherwise we had a right good road, which is a great blessing. Several miles this side of [beyond] the Susquehanna we took dinner at a tavern, where there is good water. The people took Bro. Gottlob for a clergyman. It began to rain, but did not continue long. Five miles this side of the tavern we came to a creek and eight miles further, towards evening, we came to another creek. We pitched our tent for the first time, because a severe thunder storm was coming. Under the tent we kept pretty dry and the brethren slept for a little while. When the storm was over, we started at twelve o'clock midnight and traveled several miles farther to the next creek. We passed a little town, called "Carl Isles" [Carlisle],¹¹ consisting of about 60 houses and inhabited mostly by Irishmen.

On Sunday, October 14, about 4 o'clock in the morning, we pitched our tent four miles this side of [beyond] "Carl Isles", in order not to be an eyesore to the Irish Presbyterians. We lay down for several hours and slept well and peacefully. After breakfast the brethren were shaved. The rest of the time we spent happily in our tent. At noon we ate pork and dumplings. In the afternoon the people from Jersey came to us, who had lately been in Bethlehem and had advised us to take this road. They had broken their wagon in the Susquehanna, which had delayed them several days in their journey. They were very friendly and would have liked to stay with us. Towards evening we went three miles farther to the widow *Tennent's* tavern. This night we stayed on the other side of the creek. Several people came to us, who lodged in the tavern, to see what kind of people we were. We inquired of them about the way. They were very obliging towards us. One of them had been in the Moravian orphanage in his youth, and was by birth a Silesian.¹² Another was the son of the commissioner at Sakana, [Saucon, Lehigh Co.] He resides in Frederickstown [Winchester], Virginia. We slept to-day without using the tent.

¹¹ The town of Carlisle was laid out in 1751. See C. W. Wing, *History of Cumberland County*, p. 229.

¹² He was a native of the Prussian province of Silesia, which was acquired by Frederick II, in 1745, for Prussia.

On October 15, we started on our way at three o'clock. We had moonlight and a good road and about eighty miles to Frederickstown [Winchester]. But for twelve miles to "Shippes-town", [Shippensburg]¹³ a little town, we had no water. Here we had our wagon fixed, because the tongue had been somewhat damaged. The blacksmith was very expensive, and the work was poorly done. We saw the Blue Mountains, about eight to ten miles to our right. We had exceptionally fine weather. Eight miles farther we came to the "Kanikatschik" [Conococheague], which is here about as large as the "Manakis" [Monocacy] at Bethlehem. Here we took our dinner. A few miles farther we stayed over night at Colonel *Chimpersen's* Mill,¹⁴ where we had good water. Bro. Nathanael conducted the evening worship.

On October 16, Bro. Grube led the morning worship. At four o'clock we continued our journey. On the way we bought ten bushels of oats from an Irishman and after we had traveled five miles farther we breakfasted at a little creek, where Irish people have settled. Two miles farther we found good water. We traveled three miles to a house on the left, set back from the road a short distance. One mile farther we came to a tavern. We could see the Blue Mountains again very distinctly. After another mile we came to a German tavern. Here we bought some hay and took our dinner. Two miles this side of the tavern we passed the boundary of Pennsylvania and Maryland. We heard that Maryland is only six miles wide at this point. From the Susquehanna to this place mostly Irish people have settled. They have good land, but little or nothing can be bought of them. Two and a half miles farther on we came to an old Swiss settler from whom we bought some hay. He was very friendly and asked us to call again. One mile farther we came to a German, from whom we bought some cabbage, which came very handy to us. We continued for several miles and came to a place two miles this side of the "Patomik," where we stayed

¹³ Shippensburg was laid out in 1749 by Edward Shippen.

¹⁴ The distance from Shippensburg proves this mill to have been Col. Chambers's mill at Chambersburg. See Scull's *Map of Pennsylvania*, 1759.

over night, pitching our tent near a little creek. The man, upon whose land we were, visited us and showed himself very friendly. He stayed for supper. He related that he had known Bro. Ro- seen and Nyberg very well, who had preached several times at his house. He was by birth a Swede. Bro. Gottlob conducted the evening worship. Then we lay down before our nice fire and Bro. Gottlob took to his hammock, which he had tied to two posts.

On October 17, we continued our journey at five o'clock in the morning. We had two miles to reach the "Patomik," at which we arrived at daybreak. Bro. Jacob Loesch first rode through the river to discover the ford, which makes a considerable curve from one bank to the other. We all crossed safely, but the exit from the river was very difficult and it took much work to ascend the bank. This river is about again as broad as the "Lecha" [Lehigh] at Bethlehem, but in times of high water it overflows the high banks and runs swiftly southeast. Half a mile from the river is a plantation, four miles farther a tavern, the way becoming very stony. Four miles still farther we found good water and a tavern. Four miles this side of the tavern we took our dinner at a little creek, near a mill, which is to the left. After three miles we found a good spring, and when we had traveled four miles farther we pitched our tent near a little creek. We cooked "Sapan,"¹⁵ which tasted well. Our dear Nathanael conducted the evening worship.

On October 18, we rose early at 3 o'clock. After the morning worship Bro. Gottlob, Haberland and J. Loesch preceded us to Frederickstown [Winchester] to order several things. We followed soon afterwards with the wagon. We had but one mile to *Robert Korniken's* mill and eleven miles farther to Frederickstown, but no water for seven miles. We breakfasted at a little creek. Two miles farther we again had water. At noon we passed Frederickstown, which consists of about sixty houses, which are rather poorly built. A mile beyond Frederickstown we stopped at a mill and bought some bread and corn. Bro. Gottlob and Haberland again joined us. We continued and

¹⁵ An Indian dish. According to Neckemoelder's Indian Vocabulary (MS. in Pennsylvania Historical Society), it is mush.

again soon came to water. We still had four miles to *Jost Haid's* mill.¹⁶ We pitched our tent beyond the mill. Bro. Jacob Loesch again joined us, after having been on several plantations to buy bread and oats, but he had gotten little. We put our horses in a meadow, as we had no more feed for them. Bro. Lisher and Merkli stayed with them at night. Bro. Gottlob conducted the evening worship. We lay down soon afterwards for a good rest under our tent.

On October 19, we rose at six o'clock, but we had not slept much, because the smoke had annoyed us considerably. One mile from here we had some bread baked for us, and towards nine o'clock we continued our journey. Several brethren preceded us two and a half miles to *Mr. Neuschwanger*,¹⁷ a German,

¹⁶ In connection with Jost Haid's mill, the following petition from the records of Orange county will be of interest:

To the worshipful his Majesty's Justices of Orange county. The petition of sundry inhabitants of Opeckon sheweth:

That yr. Petioners at present lay under great illconveniency for want of a Road from Just Hyte's Mill to Ashby's bent Ford on Shenando, humbly pray that yr. worships will order that a wagon road be cleared.

And yr. Petitioners, etc.

David Vance, *Ulrich Bucher, Abm. Hollingsworth, Robert Allane, William Hog, Robert Smith, Peter Wolff. Benj. Booden [Borden], Richard Wood, *Johannes Stöckli; Joseph Calwer, Charles McDowell, John Harrow, Nathanael Thomas, *Jerg Dieter, Jno. Nation, William Reed, Luke Vickery, Thomas Branson, Jr., Thomas Postgate, Robert Warth, James Vance, Ellis Thomas, Philip Kenney, Hugh De Vine, Isaac Perkins [Parkins], John Branson, William Vance, Edward Corder, John Gaskin, George Harreson, Isaac Davenport, John Hite, John McDowell, Geshem Woodel, Joseph Davenport, Charls. Barns, Robert Mackoy, George Bowman, *Abraham Weisman, *Jacob Weiss, Jacob Christman, Joseph Robins, *Gottfried Steffneha Gambeler.

June Court 1739.

[*The names marked * are written in German script.]

At a court held for Orange county on February 22, 1738, the above petition was laid before the court, and it was ordered that Lewis Stephen and Jacob Niswanger lay out the road. On March 22, 1738, the two men reported the completion of their work.

¹⁷ This was Christian Newswanger, who landed in Philadelphia August 24, 1728. See Rupp's *Collection of Thirty Thousand Names*,

who lives half a mile from the road, on the left side. A straight way has been cut from the road to his house. The brethren secured bread and hay and brought it to the "great road"¹⁸ where the other brethren waited with the wagon. Bro. Haberland accidentally met a man on the plantation who knew him. We traveled five miles farther and came to *Baumann's*¹⁹ mill. We bought several bushels of oats, but had to wait several hours till it had been threshed. Several Germans came to us, of whom we inquired about the way. They gave us bad news, that beyond "Augusti" Court House the way is so bad that we would hardly be able to proceed. We still had five miles to Justice *Funk's* mill, but we had to drive for some time during the night and arrived there pretty late. At first there were poor prospects for our night quarters, because it was pitch dark and little wood in the neighborhood. But we pitched our tent beyond the Mill Creek, where we found a comfortable place under a large tree. Everybody was at once busy with carrying wood and in a few minutes we were well accommodated. Several people came to us, who were amazed at us. On the way we had lost a sack of oats, which several brethren went to seek with a lantern. They found it again. We had had a good road to-day. The Blue Mountains, which were to our right, could be seen very distinctly. We had several high mountains before us. Bro. Nathanael led the evening worship and then we went to sleep.

On October 20, some of our brethren brought our horses early from the pasture. Bro. Grube woke up the rest of the brethren and after eating our soup we started at five o'clock. We at once had a considerable mountain before us. We had to

etc. He removed quite early to the Shenandoah Valley from Pennsylvania, and purchased land from Jost Hite, in whose neighborhood he was residing at this time.

¹⁸ This was the great highway through the Valley of Virginia, used by the Scotch-Irish and Germans in their migrations from Pennsylvania to Virginia. It is believed that this road followed closely the line of the present Valley turnpike from Winchester to Staunton.

¹⁹ This was George Bowman, who married Marie, daughter of Jost Hite. For baptismal record of their children, see January number, 1904, *West Virginia Historical Magazine*, p. 64. He settled on Cedar creek about eight miles south of Stephensburg, Va.

help faithfully by pushing our wagon. Before daybreak we reached the top. We heard that we would find no house for twenty miles, but water every three or four miles. Several brethren went off hunting, but returned empty handed. Six miles to our left we saw high mountains, extending southwest. Our course was south by west. The country was pretty barren, overgrown with pine trees.²⁰ This forenoon we traveled twelve miles and took dinner at a creek. It is said that in this neighborhood, one mile from the road to the left, lives a man named *Jacob Mueller*, from whom oats can be bought at all times. Then we went part of the way up hill and came to the "Narrow Passage,"²¹ where no wagon can turn out for another and where deep valleys are on both sides. In the valley on the left the "Stone Creek" runs, and in the one on the right another creek. The road continues almost south, along the heights. During the afternoon we traveled eight miles farther and pitched our tent close to the "Shanidore Creek," which is about again as broad as the "Manakis." It is very dangerous to pass at high water. We had a nice camping place.

On October 21, we continued five miles farther and then crossed the "Shanidore."²² We camped close to the bank and observed Sunday. Bro. Jacob Loesch and Kalberland were bled, because they were not well. We put our horses in the woods. In the afternoon we gave ourselves a treat by drinking tea. An Englishman came who also drank with us. He was very thankful. Bro. Petersen and Herman Loesch went ten miles from this point to an Englishman to thresh oats to-mor-

²⁰ This statement does not entirely agree with the general description of the country given by Kercheval in his *History of the Valley*, who states that when first settled the lower Valley had a fertile soil covered with grass and almost entirely destitute of trees. The missionaries, being travelers through that section, doubtless described conditions as they existed at that time in that particular locality.

²¹ This was doubtless near the Narrow Passage creek, a stream which flows into the North Branch of the Shenandoah. It is crossed by the Valley Branch of the Southern Railroad about midway between Edinburg and Woodstock, Va.

²² The North Branch of the Shenandoah was crossed in the neighborhood of New Market.

row. It was exceptionally hot to-day. Our horses were much benefited by the rest. In the evening, as we were about going to sleep, two Germans came to us who had been in the upper part of Virginia, where they had taken up land. They stayed with us over night. Their real home is at York at the "Catores" and they knew Bro. Meurer.

On October 22, we started in the morning at five o'clock. Bro. Jacob Loesch went to the plantation, where our brethren are to thresh to-day. The South Mountains are three miles distant to our left.²³ They are as high as the Blue Mountains when going to Gnadenhutten. There are said to be many plantations in this district, but most of them close to the mountains. We ate dinner at a small creek. The brethren returned with eleven bushels of oats. It was very warm and sultry weather. We had had no water for the last eleven miles, since leaving last night's camp. From this point to Williamsburg it is said to be two hundred miles. We went a mile and a half farther to a tavern keeper, named *Severe*. We inquired about the way but could not get good information. After traveling three and a half miles we found two passable roads. Bro. Gottlob and Nathanael preceded us on the left hand road. They met a woman, who informed them about the way. Then they came back to us again and we took the road to the right. We traveled ten miles without finding water. It was late already and we were compelled to travel five miles during the dark night. We had to climb two mountains which compelled us to push the wagon along or we could not have proceeded, for our horses were completely fagged out. Two of the brethren had to go ahead to show us the road, and thus we arrived late at *Thom. Harris's* plantation.²⁴ Here we bought feed for our horses and pitched our tent a short distance from the house. The people were very friendly. They lodge strangers very willingly.

²³This is an error. It was the Massanutton range, and not the Blue Ridge or South Mountain, as stated.

²⁴This plantation was probably the site of the present town of Harrisonburg, Va., and Harris stands for *Harrison*. Thomas Harrison, son of Reuben, was the founder, in 1778, of Harrisonburg. See Waddell's *Annals of Augusta County*, Second Edition, 1902.

On October 23, we started at daybreak. We had bought a small barrel of milk to use for dinner, but it broke and we lost all. Two miles farther we bought some meat and then traveled six miles farther to the North River [of the Shenandoah],²⁵ where we ate our dinner. This creek is half as large as the "Lecha" [Lehigh] but it is impassible at high water, nor is a canoe in the neighborhood. We enjoyed our meat and dump-lings. This afternoon our course went straight south. After three miles' travel we came to a creek, after two miles to a little run, and after a mile to a spring. We traveled three miles farther and passed the night at a little creek near a plantation. Bro. Nathanael led the evening worship.

On October 24, our soup was ready as early as half past two o'clock. At three we started again. A mile from our camp we found good water, likewise one mile farther on. We still had two miles to the Middle Branch²⁶ [of the Shenandoah], a pretty large creek. Its banks make it difficult to cross. It cost us much labor. Most of the brethren crawled over the creek on a tree, except Bro. Kalberland who fell into the water, but without suffering any injury. It was pretty dark when we crossed the creek. A mile farther was another little creek, from which it was a mile to *Robert Bohk's*, who has a beautiful plantation and good water. There we bought some hay and chaff. The people were very modest. Three miles farther we came to "Augusti Court House,"²⁷ a little town of some twenty houses, surrounded by mountains on all sides. This whole district is

²⁵ Following the line of the "Great Road," the missionaries crossed the North river near Mount Crawford, Rockingham county, Va., and rested for the night in the vicinity of what is now Mt. Sidney, Augusta county, Va.

²⁶ This was Middle river, the waters of which, after uniting with the North and South rivers, constitute the South Branch of the Shenandoah at Port Republic, Va. The missionaries evidently crossed this stream at the place now known as Bowling's Mill, then the residence of John Anderson, one of the earliest settlers of Augusta county, who resided about two and a half miles southwest of the old Augusta or Stone church, which was dedicated for worship January 22, 1750.

²⁷ The present city of Staunton, Va., still encompassed by many hills.

settled by Irish²⁸ and English people. Immediately behind "Augusti Court House" the bad road begins. (There are two roads here, the one to the right goes to Carolina.) The road ran up and down continually, and we had either to push the wagon or keep it back with ropes which we had fastened to the rear. There was no lack of water, for every two miles we met creeks. We pitched our tent eight miles this side of "Augusti Courthouse," close to a spring and an old dilapidated house. Bro. Loesch went to several plantations to buy feed for our horses. But the people had none themselves. However, they were very friendly and regretted that they could not help us.

On October 25, we continued our journey. After having gone half a mile we found two roads. We took the one to the left. We had no water for five miles. A mile farther we breakfasted. Then we rode six miles and ate dinner at a beautiful spring. We met two Sabbatarians [Siebentaeger]²⁹ who had been in Carolina

²⁸ The missionaries in this diary invariably refer to the Scotch-Irish settlers as *Irish*, which is clearly an error. The history of the Scotch-Irish in Virginia has been so admirably written by Mr. Joseph A. Waddell in his *Annals of Augusta County* that further reference to them is unnecessary.

²⁹ These Sabbatarians were evidently members of the Ephrata colony at the New river. (See *Virginia Magazine*, Vol. XI, 125, 234.) An interesting visit to this settlement is described by Dr. Thomas Walker in his *Journal of an Expedition in the Spring of the Year 1750* Boston, 1888. On March 16, 1750, he writes:

"We kept up the Staunton to William Englishes [near Blacksburg, Montgomery Co., Va.] He lives on a small branch, and was not much hurt by the Fresh. He has a mill which is the furthest back except one lately built by the sect of people, who call themselves the Brotherhood of Euphrates [Ephrata] and are commonly called Dunkards, who are the upper inhabitants on the New River, which is about 400 yards wide at their place. They live on the west side and we were obliged to swim our Horses over. The Dunkards are an odd people who make it a matter of Religion not to shave their Beards, ly on Beds, or eat Flesh, though at present, in the last they transgress, being constrained to it, as they say, by the want of a sufficiency of Grain & Roots, they having not long been seated here. I doubt the plenty and deliciousness of Venison & Turkeys has contributed not a little to this. The unmarried have no private Property, but live on a common Stock. They don't baptize either young or old, they keep their Sabbath on Saturday, and

and were now returning to Pennsylvania. They gave us some information about our way. Bro. Nathanael was slightly sick. On our left we saw high mountains, which we approached at times very closely. Our way still continues southwest. In the evening we pitched our tent upon a height. We had to fetch water from a considerable distance. Bro. Gottlob had preceded us half a mile to a free negro, who is the only blacksmith in this district. He had his horse shod. The negro and his wife, who was born in Scotland, were very friendly towards Bro. Gottlob and related to him that not long ago they had removed hither from Lancaster County. They had often heard Bro. Nyberg preach and also the brethren in Philadelphia, and now they are reading the Berlin addresses [of Zinzendorf]. They were very glad to see us and very willing to serve us. The woman baked several loaves of bread for us and invited Bro. Gottlob and Nathanael to breakfast. The negro also understands German very well. Bro. Herman and Lunge went to another plantation to buy feed for our horses. It rained nearly the whole night but we kept pretty dry under our tent.

On October 26, we rose early on account of the rain. Several brethren took breakfast with the negro, who considered it an important event to have several ministers with him. We had to climb several bad hills to-day, and as soon as we had reached the top we had to use the brake [Hemmschuh], for it was dangerous to descend. Although it is very hilly here, yet it is a fruitful country. It has few stones, but consists of the fattest, black soil. It is settled mostly by English and Irish people. Bro. Gottlob and Nathanael preceded us several miles and stayed, a mile and a half across the North Branch³⁰ of the James River, with Mr. *Brickstone*, a well-to-do man, who removed to this place a few years ago from "Canistoge" [Conestoga, Lancaster Co.]. The other brethren passed the night with the wagon, half a mile this

hold that all men shall be happy hereafter, but first must pass through punishment according to their Sins."

³⁰The missionaries probably crossed the North Branch of the James river in the vicinity of the present town of Lexington, Va., although no settlement existed there at the time. From this point they seem to have traveled in the direction of the Natural Bridge, crossing Buffalo Creek on the way.

side of the Branch, which is impassable at high water. As our tent stood at the base of a hill, the water flowed under us and we became thoroughly wet.

On October 27, we rose early to dry ourselves, while the sky cleared. We were very thankful to have good weather again, for we needed it very much as otherwise we could not get along, our wagon being very heavy and we almost unable to push it up the mountains. For two miles we had a bad road, constantly going up and down hill. We came to the house in which Bro. Gottlob and Nathanael had passed the night and had been given good meals for little money. It is a beautiful and fruitful country. Very high mountains can be seen afar on all sides. This forenoon we had to unload half of our baggage for the second time, because it was impossible to ascend the mountain with the whole load. The road was slippery and the horses could not get a firm foothold, but fell continually on their knees. We ate dinner at the "Buffler" [Buffalo] Creek, which is about half as large as the "Lecha" [Lehigh], but in case of high water overflows its banks far and wide. Bro. Jacob Loesch shot the first turkey in this neighborhood, which we enjoyed this evening. We passed the creek and immediately afterwards came to a high mountain. It took us an hour to ascend. We had to push hard, but the weather was nice and agreeable. Reaching the top we had a beautiful view of high mountains and valleys on both sides. We rode on the summit for several miles. After two and a half miles we found a foot path to the left, and as we had heard that there was a spring some distance down in the valley and we were all thirsty, the brethren procured a kettle full of water, which was very refreshing to us. Bro. Herman went by this same path to a plantation to buy some feed, but could not get any. Then he went to a man, named *Illisen*, from whom he obtained several bushels of corn. Here he stayed over night. Our road became very bad, constantly going up and down hill. In the evening we pitched our tent eight miles this side of "Buffler Creek" at a little run. We started a good fire and rested from our labor, which had been rather hard to-day. As we were all tired we had no guards.

On October 28, we started early on our journey. One of our horses took sick. After a mile and a half we bought corn at a

house. A mile farther we came to a little creek. The Blue Mountains were within two miles. We ate our dinner at a beautiful spring, six miles from our last camp. Br. Herman again returned to us and brought several bushels of corn. In the afternoon we had a stony and bad road, and had to hold the wagon back continually with ropes, lest it be overturned, as the road was very steep. Four times we crossed a bad, stony creek, the banks being high everywhere, so that it was difficult to ascend. The South and the Blue Mountains are here within two miles of each other.³¹ We rode on the right hand side along the Blue Mountain. Towards evening we saw the James River. We had to descend over a steep mountain, before we reached it. We attached a pretty large tree to the wagon, locked both wheels, while the brethren held fast to the tree. But the wagon went down so fast that most of the brethren turned somersault, however, without injury to anybody. We pitched our camp close to the river and rested very well after the fatigues of the day, for in spite of the bad road we had covered sixteen miles. A man came to us and asked us whether we had driven down the steep mountain. He was much surprised, but said that it would not have been necessary, as a good road led along the Blue Mountain, on the right hand, into a little valley.

On October 29, we rose at 5 o'clock. We had a pretty cold night. It was the first frost since we are on our journey. We drove half a mile along the river, when we found two roads. The one to the right continues a mile farther to *Lunis Ferry*, but the one to the left crosses the river. Several brethren first rode through the river to discover the ford, for there are many rocks and stones in the river. It is fortunate for us that the rivers and creeks are not high at present, otherwise it would be impossible to proceed, for the smallest creeks swell from rain to such an extent, that the horses have to swim through. From "Buffler's Creek" to this place there is water every two or three miles. We all passed safely through the James River,³² for which we were very thankful to our Father in heaven. We

³¹The Blue Ridge and North Mountains are evidently meant.

³²The general direction traveled by the missionaries would indicate that they crossed the James river in the vicinity of Buchanan, Va.

drove two miles farther over a good road, passed a creek and came to a house where we stopped most of the day. The people baked some bread for us and we bought a pig which we butchered at once. Mr. Illisen also came to us, from whom Bro. Herman bought the last corn. He asked the brethren to shoe his horse, which they did. He also said that he intended to travel to Philadelphia within a short time and that if we had anything to deliver he would gladly take it along. Bro. Gottlob and Nathanael wrote several letters to our dear brethren at Bethlehem, which they addressed to Sam. Powel in Philadelphia. This evening we went on four miles farther, but had a pretty good road. We took several loaves of bread along which had been baked for us at Lunis' Mill.³⁸ We crossed a pretty large creek and pitched our tent two miles this side of the mill at a little creek, but we had to change its position soon, because the wind blew the smoke into the tent. We put our horses in the woods. Bro. Petersen and Merkli, who had stayed back to bake bread, came to us again late at night. They had been compelled at Lunis Mill to wade through the creek, which is pretty deep.

On October 30, we had bad weather. It rained and snowed, but we kept pretty dry under our tent. Our horses had run off and some of our brethren had to search for them nearly the whole day before they found them. We were very glad when we had them again, because we had heard that many horses had been stolen in this neighborhood and the same might have happened to ours. As the brethren had become thoroughly wet and cold, we drank tea and were very happy together. We changed our tent again because of the smoke. We tried for the first time to bake our bread in the ashes.

On October 31, we rose very early to start again on our journey. We soon had to climb a high mountain, which was very hard on the horses, for the ground was frozen hard and covered with snow. After a mile we came to a little creek, and after another mile to a pretty large creek, near which was a plantation.

³⁸ This was evidently the mill of Robert Luhny, who is mentioned in the itinerary of Rev. Mr. Schnell as being on the James river. The reading which was considered doubtful (see *Virginia Magazine*, Vol. XII, p. 82) is corroborated by this passage. The ferry is given as "Looney's Ferry," on Fry and Jefferson's map of Virginia.

Then we had to climb hills again. When we reached the top we had a beautiful view before us and behind us. The Blue and the South Mountains here have an oval shape. The mountains were all covered with snow. The farther we went the more snow we had and the more difficult it was to drive. Two miles to the left was a plantation, where a few of the brethren drank milk. Nearby was a little creek. Then the way was up hill again. Within a mile and a half we came to another creek, not far from a plantation. Here is a good place to lodge, because there is good water and wood. A mile farther we had a miserable road, being very steep, so that we could hardly keep the wagon from rolling down the mountain. Thus we descended the mountain. After half a mile we came to a small creek, along which we drove for some distance up the valley. Then we ate dinner. One of the horses became sick, but we gave him some medicine, which took effect. After having traveled a mile and a half we crossed several bad hills, close to a fence, and came to *Joseph Macdonell's* house, who moved to this place two years ago from "Manakesie" [Monocacy] in Maryland. He was very kind and showed us the right way without our asking him. A quarter of a mile from his house are two roads, one to the right goes to the New River, but we took the one to the left. We came again to a little creek and five miles farther to our camping place. Towards evening we met an old man, who began a conversation with Bro. Nathanael. As we passed close to his fence we offered to buy some of his turnips but he was kind enough to give us a good quantity for nothing. His name is *Mueller*. One of our horses took sick again and we bled him.

On November 1, we started very early on our journey, but we had to bleed another horse. The change of the feed causes much of the sickness among our horses. After a mile and a half we found water, after half a mile a creek, and after another mile another creek. Close by was an old plantation and two roads. We took the one to the left. A quarter of a mile farther a road went up the mountain to the left. It was the road to Warrick. Then we came to a stone house, of which we had heard and where we had hoped to buy some provisions. But we could get little. The people estimate the distance to the "Runoke" as nine miles. The road became very narrow, so that we hardly knew

how to get through and if we had not had our axes, we would have fared badly. We had to make a new way or else improve the old. We met three men from Warwick [Lancaster Co., Pa.] who had been in Carolina and were now returning home. They gave us a poor description of the way and told us that we would hardly get any provisions on the way. Bro. Nathanael wrote a brief note to Bro. Christian Rauch and gave it to these people to take along. Two miles farther we came to a little creek, and again two miles to a creek which is very stony. We had much difficulty in ascending the bank. A mile farther we came to a large buffalo lick, where formerly very many buffaloes congregated, because the swamp contains very much saltpeter.⁸⁴ Not far from that point we came to a plantation with good water. We rode on for about half a mile, where our road became rather narrow and turned off to the left. The road to the right, which is more passable runs to "Grain Brayer."⁸⁵ We ate dinner at a creek. Then we had to drive through a large swamp. Bro. Loesch had preceded us to find out whether he could buy some corn. Towards four o'clock we came to the "Runoke." Here we had to wait for the corn, which had not yet been husked. Some of the brethren went to the next plantation and helped to husk corn; a few thrashed oats. As it grew late we had to stay here over night. Mr. *Evans*, the miller, who lives across the river, came to us and gave us good advice about our sick horses. We followed his advice and had success. We had traveled twelve miles to-day.

(TO BE CONTINUED)

⁸⁴ This was evidently the site of the present city of Roanoke, which was called Big Lick until about twenty years ago.

⁸⁵ Grain Brayer stands for the county of Greenbrier in West Virginia. The spelling in the text is evidently due to the Scotch-Irish pronunciation as heard by the Moravians.